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ties. Such ties are within the range of possibility but do not appear to be modal.

One of the interesting aspects of early married life in Atimelang is that the woman, once mutual residence has been established, quite often refuses her husband sexual privileges. This refusal is often phrased in terms of still unsatisfactory financial payments to her kinsmen, so that men have another opportunity to link wealth with sex and sexual frustration. However, if we may trust the autobiographies, men may also on occasion show considerable reluctance to enter into sexual relationships. Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies both point to such episodes. In consonance with such an attitude is the fact that most men when engaged in elaborate feast finances are continent and even sleep in the male guesthouses or on their own verandahs. The acquisition of wealth can be pursued successfully only at the expense of sexual gratification. It should be stated parenthetically that some women, as well as their husbands, believe that they are lucky rather than unlucky in relation to "pulling in gongs and mokos," so that continence is not required of their husbands to assure success in financial transactions.

On the part of women the unwillingness to enter immediately into sexual intimacies with their husbands, or at least the existence of that traditional attitude, may be explicable in part by the very early marriages they frequently contract. The first sign of swelling breasts is considered the token of a girl's readiness for adult sexual life. First menses are considered irrelevant, and some women told me of having borne children before their periods set in.* Not every girl, of course, marries so young, but there is no doubt that marriage does come much earlier in life for girls than for boys. This means that their period of sociological adolescence is much briefer and certainly in comparison to boys socially much less trying.

The attitude of men toward young wives varies considerably, although again opinion is weighted in favor of young women. Of course the matter is relative. In the case of Atamau, previously cited, his overt objection was that the girl was too young to enter into sexual relations. The chief of Atimelang, who then bought the girl, said that it was better to get a very young girl so that she could be trained to docility and industry. A man from Dikimpe was very dubious of the whole affair and said somewhat scornfully that in his village they did not believe in marrying children. Rilpada, whose autobiography is included in this volume, was of the opinion that an older woman, who thought only of her fields and had already learned to work, was more desirable as a

* The menopause is treated in an equally casual manner.

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Chapter 7

Adults and Institutions

608 THE foregoing chapters have searched for the possible genesis of the modal personality in Atimelang and simultaneously have tried to indicate how that personality is both the product of social forms and the active agent in them. In this section the attempt will be made to search further for the interrelated forms and forces of personality as they manifest themselves in institutions, values, and everyday modes of emotional expression and behavior among adults.

STATUS AND FINANCE

554 In the formation of personality the devices furnished by the society for placing oneself in relation to other individuals are important. In other words, the status forms of a culture may well have significant repercussions on ego development. In Atimelang there are four main factors determining status: age, sex, wealth, and kinship. The age and sex factors are beyond individual control and function automatically. This might be an optimal orientation situation for the individual, although the reverse of the coin must not be forgotten since it automatically disfranchises women and the young. The wealth factor is considered almost a function of age, although in practice it is far from
556 being so. It is noteworthy that wealth status is not formalized. There is hardly a trace of institutional expression of rank or of inheritance of financial position. Every man's financial resources are largely, although
[768] not completely, consumed in his death ceremonies, since the wealthier a man is, the more elaborate his postmortem prestige. Social prestige depending on wealth, therefore, must be constantly validated by individual effort. The burden as well as the rewards of such effort rests
[835] primarily on middle-aged men. The manipulation of the wealth-status system is one requiring constant vigilance, aggression, chicanery, and an excellent memory. The stress that successful competition places on a
[837] man is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that, if they have able sons, old men usually withdraw gradually from active participation and retain power only in an advisory capacity. They leave the actual dunning to younger and more vigorous men.

562 Every competitive system automatically implies that a large portion of the population will fail to achieve the goal set up by the culture. Granting, therefore, that a competitive system will automatically debar

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a large number of its members from successfully achieving the desired goal, we have the problem of discovering which people are disfranchised and what compensatory roles they may play. In Atimelang, as in many other cultures, the female half of the population is debarred from cultural goals on a sex basis; women must either break with the cultural tradition, surrender any claim to the major prestige rewards of their culture, or derive it vicariously through aligning themselves with a successful male.

This last device may apply to groups of males also, as among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, where a sib functions as a unit feeding the prestige activities of a titular head. In other societies with structuralized rank or with castes, large parts of the population are given restricted status positions that remove them from any competitive effort for prestige. In Atimelang it is assumed that all males will enter the competitive system. In fact, every man is practically forced into it if he is to marry and if he is to retain his health by placating in death feasts the potential malignancy of dead kin.

Overtly no differences in wealth are allowed for in middle age. Every middle-aged man who is married, has given a feast, or been associated with any transaction amounting to about one hundred dollars is called a rich man (*kafaksi*). There are no formal terms for degrees of wealth, except by adding an intensifier, *berka*, meaning in this case "powerful," "potent," although, significantly enough, the more usual meaning is "bad." It is not customary to use this term, however, unless one wishes to flatter a man. Conversely the most bitter insult is to call a man "poor." Actually there seems to be no simple word meaning poor. One can say, "He has nothing" (*nala hopa naha*), or one can say, "Setang," meaning worthless, of no account. This, incidentally, is a term of reproach that is very frequently shouted at troublesome and naughty children.

The system of making no overt, outspoken distinctions in respect to wealth is carried even further. It will be recalled that an expression of opinion about physical appearance was hard to get. The same applied to all kinds of derogatory or flattering distinctions. It was just as difficult to procure a social judgment about a man's industry, his honesty, or his skill in craftsmanship. Good manners require that everyone, verbally at least, be granted an equal ranking even in the face of glaring discrepancies. When I discussed the matter with a young man, he said, "If anyone heard that I had said he was less rich, less industrious, or less handsome, he would be ashamed and would want to fight with me. He would be angry." Linguistically there is an interesting correlate of

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[193] this situation in the absence of comparative or superlative forms for
554 modifiers. There are only intensifiers.
576 This state of affairs reveals several points. First, it suggests a considerable sense of touchiness. There is a good deal of stress laid on saving a person's face. This is carried so far that a man who has gone on an
[126] unsuccessful dunning trip may be given a small moko as a "luck token" (*makiling*) to carry home—not as a payment, but as a face saver. The next day a young boy may be sent to take back this moko, but the dunner has not had the humiliation of returning empty-handed.
154 All this may simply reflect some of the individual insecurity that the
626 foregoing sections certainly indicate might well exist in Atimelangers. Furthermore, it expresses the conscious linkage in Atimelang between shame and anger. This is a perfectly accurate observation of the Atimelangers on their own psychology. What matters is what people say about you, and you protect yourself from derogation by a vigorous emotional discharge of anger. In this society, which has no organized police force and has only a recently introduced system of litigation, shame acts as the chief social sanction. Ridicule or derogation is simply the external expression of what a person feels as shame. It is a pattern,
[55] as we have seen, established early in childhood. But since shame produces anger and since there is no police force or law, anger must be diverted into other channels if the society is to have any cohesive quality.
154 That anger is not directed inward is evidenced by the rarity of sui-
155 cide. Further, from the observations made on childhood it would appear that the relationships of that period would not foster the internalizing of sanctions. Hostility and shame must be directed outward upon the world but in a form sufficiently sublimated to prevent social chaos. As
154 we have already seen, wealth is the answer. The dangers inherent in it
556 are indirectly recognized, since newly purchased gongs and mokos are thought dangerous (i.e., illness-provoking) unless sacrifices have been offered them, and large wealth displays are considered sources of danger to young children. In many instances hostility is directed into wealth competition. At times, obviously, wealth as a means of expressing hostility will fail, and then recourse to direct violence alone remains. The result, at least in the past, was war.

QUARRELS

578 In the following discussion of quarrels and war and their association with wealth, the role of kinship as a form of status orientation will bear observation. Quarrels in Atimelang were incessant and of varying mag-

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prized virtue in the culture, as we have seen in connection with the education of children and as was abundantly evidenced in cases of illness and wounds. An interesting episode happened one day when an older financier, Maliseni, suggested dancing with young men in this fashion, but offered to pay two cents for each blow instead of receiving return blows. There was some debate among the young men as to the worth of this offer and it was finally rejected. This was apparently too new an extension of the aggression-wealth concept to be generally acceptable.

In the delivery of large dowry payments (*moling*) there is a mock verbal battle in which the female kin of the wife and husband exchange insults about the value of the gifts being given. The men often join these debates. Frequently they are purely formal and are carried out in a mood of chaffing good humor and with much amusement. At other times there may be serious ill feeling expressed and a genuine attempt made to shame the husband and his kin into more generous gifts to the carriers of the dowry payments.

When feelings become intense, particularly between two kin, a dramatic expression of hostility is to swear a curse against one's opponent. These curses vary from mild pronouncements of noncooperation in the future to actual death penalties by leprosy or some other form of dread disease. These curses can be removed by counersacrifices, and usually are, when peace is restored. They are pronounced seemingly in the heat of a quarrel and are subsequently regretted. The curse placed on Fantan by his wife (see autobiography, page 374) is a case in point.

WEALTH CONTESTS

The expression of hostility through wealth has been touched upon in connection with marriage. There are two other forms of institutionalized wealth combats. One is a sort of wealth contest called *tatab* and the other is a type of fine by challenge and shame called *kalukek*. Both of these devices are used only rarely. The realistic hardheadedness of the Atimelang financier does not foster any abuse of these devices.

No wealth contests (*tatab*) occurred during my period of residence in the village, so that I am dependent upon hearsay accounts. During eighteen months there were, however, at least two such threats, which did not materialize. Within the last twenty years probably not more than three such outbursts have occurred in the Five Villages. A condensed and simplified account of one of the most elaborate of these wealth contests is given below.

Malesta was a young man who had married Maliseni's sister, Kol-

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556 578 pada. Maleata gave his brother-in-law a broken gong as part of his bride-price but received no dowry in return. Maleata sat on the verandah below his brother-in-law's house dunning for it. He said, "My brother-in-law Maliseni, why don't you give me a dowry?" Maliseni, who was angry at this persistent dunning, said, "Wah! I shan't give you a dowry! That fellow down there is one who can be looked through as far as the Kamang district. He is transparent to the Mating area." [96] This was a very insulting speech, its implication being that Maleata was a poor man of no substance and solidity.

Maleata then went to complain to a powerful elder kinsman called Mangma, who visited Maliseni and in a placating fashion asked him, "Why are you like this?" Maliseni merely elaborated his previous insult [96] by saying, "The one down there on my verandah is like civet-cat meat; he is a floating seed. Perhaps you are going to cry?" This enraged Mangma, who then collected a group of his and Maleata's kinsmen. There were five in all.

They armed themselves and stood on their dance place to shout challenge. "Hik, hik, my friend Maliseni! We shall reckon wealth." They hung their gongs on the racks and beat them with the sharp, rapid strokes which signal anger or catastrophe. They brought all the weapons down from their houses. The five kinsmen began to slay their pigs [602] and the pigs of all their kinsmen, thereby making them automatically their allies in the declared wealth feud. Then they set out for Lakawati, where they also had relatives, and returned carrying three pigs. On the ridge above their village they beat gongs and Maleata shouted toward Maliseni's dance place, "I bought your sister. I gave you a bride-price, and you promised me a dowry. When I came to collect it, you insulted me. (He repeated the insult verbatim.) Then I quarreled with you, but it was you who thrust a spear into your sister's carrying basket. You were richer than I, that is true. But you failed to pay my dowry, and now we shall see who is richer." As they came down the ridge they met a party of Maliseni's allies, who had also been out collecting animals. The two groups fought with bamboo throwing-spears and stones. No one was hurt, but a moko carried by the Lakawati allies of Mangma and Maleata was broken by a stone and had to be repaid by Mangma and Maleata with interest.

This type of challenge and encounter, in the course of collecting animals for slaughter, went on for several days. "A man would eat a [262 602] whole pig by himself. We were sick of meat. Everyone who was a kinsman of one side or the other had his pigs killed. The more distantly related kin of both groups of contestants tried to stay neutral by con-

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tributing pigs to both sides. Women were hiding piglets in the houses so that all the animals would not be killed."

Then the Male House I* of each chief contestant decided to meet and reckon their tallies. They set up forked tree branches on neutral ground between the two villages. The young men of both sides met there and fought. They pushed and tugged and sparred with clubs. When they finished fighting, the Male House representatives of each side took two tallies apiece and tossed them into the air, saying, "Moon-Sun, we give you these two tallies. If our side is at fault, may our tallies be fewer. If our side is right, hide the tallies of our opponent; make ours flow in like water."

Then each side began laying down tallies. Maliseni's representatives would put down one and Mangma's representatives would lay one on top of it. When Maliseni's tallies were finished, Mangma's side still had many. Then Mangma's side shouted a formal gloat, "Sapaliek! The rooster's tail droops! You are a voiceless night bird. Our lineage house's taproot goes down deep. You were mistaken." Then they all danced challenge, saying, "Hik, hik! my friend Maliseni, sit quietly; don't talk. We are the ones to talk. We are a bird with a bell-like voice; you are a silent night bird."

After this climax of the contest there was an all-night dance. At dawn the winners gave to their six Male House kin for their services a series of graded payments that amounted to about twenty-five dollars in gongs and mokos plus various pigs and a sword. In addition, all the pigs used had to be paid for.

For five years after this event Maliseni and his rivals avoided each other. Finally the winners sent a go-between to Maliseni with offers of a peacemaking feast on the spot where the reckoning had taken place. Here the principals exchanged areca, rice cones, and meat. Each side ate the other's food, and peace was restored. At least the contestants no longer avoided each other.

This particular contest broke out over an affinal exchange. It involved many people who had no particular interest in losing the pigs they were raising for other purposes. It failed also to settle the hostility between Maliseni and some of his opponents. About ten years later the rivalry broke out once more, this time between Maliseni and Malefani, one of Mangma's and Maleata's chief supporters. This time the precipitating factor was that Malefani's three young sons refused to let Maliseni join them in a rat hunt. Maliseni was angry and shouted at the boys, "I'll hit you if you don't wish me to go with you. Go copulate with a

* See page 21.

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556 578 dog." The boys reported this to their father and the wealth contest broke out. Maliseni's Male House I, a man called Malikalieta, came to his support. This time Maliseni was victorious in the reckoning of slaughtered pigs.

578 602 [764] In 1938 Malefani died and there were whispered rumors that he had been poisoned by Maliseni's brother, because of their protracted hostility. This did not prevent Maliseni from giving burial services as the representative of the Male House IV and from complaining so effectively about the payment for these services that he raised the level of payment for all the six Male House representatives. The Male House kin, seeing their advantage in this quarrel, supported Maliseni. There was every indication that Malefani's sons were inheriting their father's feud with the Maliseni faction. This did not mean that the two sets of opponents would not join forces against a third person when it was to their mutual advantage. In fact, some seven months later they stood back to back against Malikalieta in a quarrel over payments for their services as house-building partners in the erection of Malikalieta's lineage house.

556 602 154 This matter of wealth feuds has been described in some detail for the light it throws on the rare but ever-present possibility of using wealth contests as a check for excessive chicanery and as an expression of personal hostilities; for the light it throws on elaborate kin involvements as well as the completely realistic alignment of loyalties, which are determined more by the particular situation than by any formal and consistent policy. The possibility of a wealth contest is also a reason why neutrals fear hostility between powerful men. Should such a contest break out no one's pigs are safe.

681 [177] In cases of fines through challenge and shame (*kalukek*) the system is far less dramatic and involves fewer people. It is a procedure that has been falling into disuse, since the Dutch government has set up a system of litigation by means of which fines can be levied through public debate. Litigation usually results in a more moderate fine and more rapid dispatch of business. However, fines through challenge are still resorted to where the principals are particularly incensed and feel that only a very ostentatious wealth display can assuage their feelings. There is a case of such a challenge in Mangma's autobiography, the details of which have been deleted from the autobiography and are inserted here.

695 681 627 Mangma had been accused of intercourse with a girl with the obvious intention of trying to force him into a marriage. He proved his innocence through a hot millet ordeal and then insisted on further ex-

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SATELLITES

556 578 182 It is not expedient in this volume to elaborate institutional descriptions of various wealth activities. The gist of the foregoing pages has been to show a portion of that realm of activity concerned with wealth and hostility and to demonstrate some of the ways in which wealth may be used to express both status and aggression as well as to assist in the restraint of overt physical violence. It shows finally what happens when wealth fails to serve as an adequate check on anger. It has been evident that wealth situations may in themselves provoke extremes of violence. It is also evident that where extremes of violence have broken out, wealth again enters the picture to moderate an excessive multiplication of retaliations. All this discussion has been phrased largely in institutional forms. Only the man who is thoroughly successful financially can utilize such forms to the full, and obviously all men cannot be fully successful.

556 571 From observation some twelve middle-aged men of the Five Villages stood out as persons of particular financial power. These twelve men had six brothers among them who collaborated with them and were considered wealthy and powerful by association. This gives, as a rough estimate, some eighteen powerful men out of an adult male population of about one hundred and twelve. Those who must occupy the less privileged positions, I have called satellites for want of a better word. The society has no term to designate them, as the first paragraphs of this chapter indicated. These men function as allies and servitors of the more successful. They are depended upon when a show of strength is needed, on occasions like the ceremonial delivery of a dowry payment, a burial, or when labor is required for the building of a lineage house. At a large feast they do the slaughtering and cooking of meat. In bringing articles of value into the village they help dance in the object. In other words, whenever a crowd effect is needed or labor is required they lend assistance.

461 556 This assistance is particularly necessary where, as we have seen, a show of strength in physical and financial affairs is what counts. In addition, the wealthier and more important a man is, the more he considers physical labor beneath his dignity. Visiting, sitting, talking, and chewing areca are the only physical exertions worthy of a man aware of his importance. The very fact that one goes in for muscular labor [462] makes one's status suspect. Muscular labor is the role of women and the 554 young. Usually satellites have more or less remote kin affiliations with 602 the powerful man to whom they are attached. In return for their assist- 571 ance they receive loyalty and protection in those financial involvements to which every married male is more or less exposed. It is not

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Oh, Village Guardian, track down those who have been our guests.* 539
Now in this drowsy fourth quarter of the night
We call upon you; we ask your help
That you may persistently track our many debtors.

Verse 11. A host, addressing the Guardian Spirit.

Listen, Guardian Spirit,
Pursue new wealth and old wealth.
From the market or from the Kamang area
Show it the way here.
Hook it up with your horn.
Let it slide in like flowing water.

SOME FINANCIAL PRESSURES

If compensatory skills are minimal and esthetic outlets seem only to reinforce the premium set on financial success, it may be of some interest to turn once more to some of the institutional details involved in financial manipulations. This will give us an impression of the sort of difficulty involving chicanery and frustrations with which the less successful are incapable of coping and before which they surrender to a greater or lesser degree. In the section on marriage the obstacles of some young men in launching into the system were described. Difficult as a youth's position may sometimes be, it is only a portion of the sum of difficulties he may encounter as a man and of the distrusts and suspicions the system, as a system, is calculated to engender. 556 426

It must be evident by now that wealth consists essentially of a series of outstanding credits, not of accumulated property. But no debt is ever paid by one individual to another without a preliminary dunning, except in the case of general payoff feasts. However, to give a feast a man must work at dunning for months ahead of time to be assured of enough tangible wealth from his debtors to provide a satisfactory payoff for his creditors who crowd to the feast. The game played at such ceremonial payoffs is to force as much as possible out of the host, while he in turn has been trying to force as much as possible from his debtors. He uses a variety of magic wealth-bringing devices that range from building a new shed for his wealth-bringing spirits and placating them with food, to beating gongs and mokos morning and evening in order to draw in more gongs and mokos. The strain of debt collecting is nicely illustrated by the words used, which mean to draw (*filis*) and to tug (*hagil*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as house posts. 554 426 765 [illegible]

* Who have accepted gifts, that they may repay them.

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ored are supposed to precede the human creditors and "soften people's hearts." For the next few days the tumukun's kinsmen and debtors continued making payments and by August 4 the feast was finally given, four months after the original date set for it.

Even then not an adequate number of debtors appeared, so that on August 4 there was only the slaughtering of pigs and the division of food. On August 7 the actual gongs and mokos were distributed. The wealth array was one of the most elaborate I saw during my eighteen months, but I was assured that it was by no means the largest possible. There were fifteen mokos and eight broken gongs, representing about one hundred dollars, displayed on the dance place. This did not include pigs or rice. Practically the whole day was taken up with the distribution, although the actual passing out of payments did not begin until about four-thirty. At five-forty the first creditor, a satellite kin and village-mate of the tumukun, beat the moko he had received and left the dance place as a sign of satisfaction with the payment made. Some of the other creditors, however, were overtly and articulately dissatisfied with their payments, and some of the more implacable ones refused to accept them and leave until noon the next day. Meanwhile, in several instances, they had succeeded in forcing higher payments. Several times the tumukun and his guests were in acute rages over the negotiations. The tumukun finally managed to convince his guests that he had absolutely no currency of any sort left. Actually he had taken the precaution of hiding two mokos in a field house occupied by a kin so that his creditors would not discover them and insist on having them.

In attempting to visualize the general atmosphere of grasping hard dealing that runs riot on such occasions, one must picture a whole group of people who are present simply because they are creditors of the tumukun's creditors. They watch what is being distributed, and the minute one of their creditors is paid a gong or moko, they lay claim to it as payment for an outstanding debt. The result is that, in addition to the quarrels centering on the tumukun's debt liquidations, there is also a series of minor quarrels being waged on the side.

A condensed account of this sort can scarcely begin to indicate the anger, humiliations, and frustrations the tumukun had to endure for the prestige the feast brought him. It is not surprising that many men delay payoff feasts indefinitely and must often be forced into them. The most common pressure that forces a reluctant financier into a ceremonial payoff is illness, his own or that of some family member. Divination reveals that a dead kinsman is angry at delay or neglect and that

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way of using wealth to insure support and to enlarge or utilize satellite and kinship loyalties to the full. This same device of farming out pigs prevents every casual passer-by from knowing precisely the animal wealth of any given person. Rarely are more than two pigs kept penned beneath any one house. Maliseni, who was reputed to have an interest in as many as twenty pigs, had only three pigs penned in his dance place complex, where he lived with his three wives, his older brother, and his brother's wife. Probably Maliseni's financial activities and unreliability account in part for his keeping only three pigs penned in the vicinity of his house.

Enough details have been given to indicate the relationship between finance and status and also the fact that all men are to a certain extent forced into wealth-status manipulations that are precarious and aggravating. The lack of standardized currencies, the contest devices and the chicanery associated with wealth, the difficulties and delays attendant upon feasts, the competitive system in which, by definition, only a fraction of the male population can be successful, all contribute to the frustrations and irritations of gaining prestige. In addition, no one can relax his efforts once the goal has been reached. There are too many socially recognized pressures to permit him to withdraw and still maintain his status rating.

A nice example of the pressures and their inescapability is contained in a conversation between Fantan the Interpreter and Malelaka. Fantan, who was hard pressed at the moment, began fantasying, saying, "I should like to raise all my own pigs, and when I needed a gong or moko, I'd sell a pig for it. For my feasts I would use all my own pigs and rice. That is just what I think. It is not really true."

Malelaka, who was some twenty years older than Fantan, answered, "*That is what your maternal kinsman Lanmani did. People all envied* him, although they were angry with him sometimes. He raised his own pigs and if he wanted a gong or a moko he sold a pig to get it. The other pigs he used for his own feasts. If others came and shot his pig for a feast, he did not let them carry it off (i.e., form a debt with him). He kept it himself. If people came bringing a gong or a moko, he would let them have a pig; but if they just promised to pay, he would say, 'I like meat too. I need this pig for a feast.' After a time people did not ask him for a pig unless they had gongs or mokos; they did not try to shoot his pigs any more. If his affinal kin gave him a pig for a dowry payment, he would use it right away, but he would immediately put another pig in his pen to replace it. When it was big, he would take it to his lineal kin and say, 'If you have a gong or moko, give it to

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556 my eldest kin and I shall give you this pig.' So his literal kin would pay
424 his bride-price for him."

183 In discussing this conversation later, Fanan remarked, "Yes, a man here says he is rich, but all he does is to go around and cheat people. He pulls in their gongs and mokos and promises to pay for them when other debts of his are settled, but he only deceives us. People thought my kinsman Lammani was poor because he did not have a lot of outstanding debts."

556 Supporting this type of personal expression of dissatisfaction and
782 difficulty with financial affairs is another more formalized expression. Any large accumulation of gongs and moko, such as the one described for the tamukun's feast, is considered dangerous. Young children are chased away from it, and adults must be protected by throwing away one of the pieces of smaller value to the wealth-bringing spirits. The piece is tossed by the owner into the brush, where boys and young men fight for it. This is another persisted opportunity for aggression in relation to wealth. Should this precaution or some similar magical one
[785] be omitted, the owner of the wealth will fall sick and die within a day.

The danger associated with excessive wealth is present also when a rice crop is unusually large, when a carabao is slaughtered, or when many wild pigs have been shot on the communal hunt at the end of the dry season. Again, illness can be avoided only by throwing away a small
[964] part as a sacrifice, the essence of which goes to personal or ancestral spirits who may be offended, and the substance of which is fought over by the younger and less dignified males.

CONCLUSIONS

556 Obviously from the foregoing, status depends primarily on wealth,
154 but neither of these is any more secure or confidence-inspiring for the individual than were his human relationships in childhood. Status and finance on the institutional side reflect and reinforce the uncertainties involved in trusting other people; yet certain aspects of the culture reveal the need for their good will. Just as there are many positive factors in child training, so also on the institutional side there are a variety of constructive aspects within the total framework. There are the many
152 recognized avenues for expressing and draining off the very hostilities
586 engendered by the culture that tend both expressively and repressively to maintain social cohesiveness. There is always the hope and the search for desired goals, whether the goal be the nurturing mother-provider or the status-wealth hyphenation. There are always devices for forging through to such goals if one is sufficiently self-contained and ruthless

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individual. There is no room for uniformity but there is every opportunity for expediency. Aside from external pressures for the maintenance of social equilibrium, the only internal barriers that prevent Arimbangues from being a group of utterly ruthless individualists is the fact that there has been no building up of self-assurance comparable to the demands for being self-reliant. 152 154

A member of a culture can always express far better than any outsider the essence of native attitudes. Communing with his familiar spirit one night Mahinda was instructed by this projection of himself in the following words, "If you don't hurry and take what you find, it disappears. It does not really disappear, but people hide it."

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153 no new emotions are encountered. What we will see henceforth is
merely the working through of the old constellations in relation to the
social goal of status.

157 It is the answer to the question, "What do I think of myself?" that
159 can supply us with some information about the source from which the
quest for prestige derives its motive power. The wish to be equal to,
or better than, another is really a reflection of an internal need to think
well of oneself. In this regard the Alorese quest for prestige has a very
strong internal function, since at no time in the life cycle of the in-
dividual does he have the opportunity to think highly of himself. The
male especially emerges into adulthood with a profound feeling of un-
worthiness. It would be reasonable to expect therefore in the male
strongly expressed predatory trends, which would be less marked in the
female. To bear this out it was observed that within limits it is the men
who steal and ask for presents, the women do not. Women return gifts;
men do not. Women share with others; men do not. The father is the
chief beneficiary of the bride-price dealings, the mother much less so.
The men seek compensations in dress and regalia; the women do not.
The sensitivity to personal defects, that is, the touchiness, may be ex-
aggerated in the men as compared with the women. It is the male who
is predominantly merciful to have any derogatory epithet leveled at
him. The men eat first when guests are present, and the women eat
later. Every opportunity is exercised by men, both through the rights
over children and through chicanery, to cancel out the deep feeling of
unworthiness.

154 The role of money is therefore an important factor in the effort to
155 establish security. Interestingly enough the wealth quest is not in the
form of an actual accumulation of gongs and makes. Emphasis falls
rather on the fact that money gives one control over others, and this is
what really tells the story. A lien upon another person means that you
can at your will convert him into a giver. The inability to control the
157 mother was the most signal defeat of childhood. If we can allocate this
177 defeat to any zone, it is really to an oral one, for it is accompanied by
211 intense feelings of greed and envy. The general stinginess about food
is evidently derived from oral frustrations, a fact which is strongly
supported by the consideration that there is no coercive anal training
in childhood.

555 The accumulation of wealth is obviously not free of dangers. The
574 fact that large displays of wealth are thought to cause illness, which in
578 turn can be remedied by giving a feast, indicates the anxiety that at-
tends the accumulation of wealth, because it means that the individual

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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has a strong awareness of the power of other people's envy. Hence the 336
giving of a feast, by satisfying their oral appetites, diminishes the envy 574
It is this remedy which tells us the origin of the whole insecurity feel- 573
ing. The remedy serves as an antidote to the envy of others, which the
wealthy person fears. This probably is also the source of the necessity for 578
evening things up—a compulsive trait probably derived from the ne- 624
cessity of sharing with hungry siblings. In actual practice the whole
prestige economy in Alor is one in which the currencies are so dis-
tributed that continual "squeeze" can be applied through financial
obligations.

The uses of this financial system are largely to channelize the enor-
mous amount of interracial hostility, and it takes much of the brunt off
all the other methods. The fear of exercising overt aggression in the 155
form of striking, killing, or even using magic is likewise traceable to
the faulty ego development in childhood. It is an error to regard ag-
gression purely as a form of reaction to frustration. In order to react
to frustration with aggression a high degree of effective organization
is necessary. In the Alorese child this organization fails to take place.
It is to be remembered that the tantrum is the expression par excellence
of the childhood frustration, and this is characterized chiefly by its lack
of organization. It is, so to speak, a spinal discharge and not one di-
rected by the higher centers. As was noted before in the discussion of
the relations of men toward women, the inability to be aggressive to-
ward an object that injures you must lead eventually not only to a fear
of the object but also to an inner feeling of paralysis. The control over
aggression is certainly not due to any superego interference. It is due
purely to an ego defect; they do not know how to organize their ag-
gression. In other words, the fact that overt aggression so rarely appears
in this society is merely a late consequence of a situation that began in
childhood and which there showed itself in the hopeless futility of get-
ting any response by this method. Even verbal aggression, which are
given limited scope, are by no means employed by everyone. Unre-
strained aggression becomes a form of expression only in the insane and
in some of the jealous quarrels among women.

RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

What is distinctive about Alorese ideas and techniques for dealing 774
with the supernatural is their negative features. There is no elaboration
of either a supreme being or of a culture hero in their mythology.

In their practical religion there is the general framework of a family 749
cult, which, however, lacks precision. The dead are not to be placated

There would a day is the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a status symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences probably helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relations is actually sanctioned and valued in the culture. When older men lecture a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call our wives "mother."

The mother is definitely the provider but, as we have seen, she is an uncertain one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a precarious and distrustful one. Even though the whole weight of the masculine financial system acts to stabilize marriage, Azimi-Lotgora average approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This seems a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the hunger experiences of childhood, the associated restrictive disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat negatively permits children to satisfy this basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of institutionalized food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so placated. Individual and village totalitary spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of sorcerers who have cultivated a field, wealth-bringing supernaturals, are all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and poorly symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky heroes are always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by pouring a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by feasts at every stage of construction, and its importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or *malgut** must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without signifi-

* Ideal bride drums used as currency.

436. goods. For the past half century males have no longer been imported, and the supply of currency is far less than the transactions of some seventy thousand inhabitants require. I was not able to make an actual estimate of the number of gauge, snakes and pigs on the island, but a government census some twenty years ago set the number of snakes at twenty thousand. This is undoubtedly an underestimation and it does not of course include gauge and pigs, but it does indicate that there is not a superabundance of currency. If there is a concept of profit and if there
426 is not an inexhaustible supply of currency, obviously one must resort to credit, and this is precisely what the Alorese have done. Like ourselves they consider credits as assets, so when a man is dying his last will consists of recounting to his heirs all his outstanding debts.

There are, however, certain marked differences between their system and ours. First, credit cannot be pyramided and, second, the profit system rests primarily on good will and not on law. In fact, there is no institutionalized
[426] law in Alor; there is only custom. The result of this is that hostilities are held in check because a man fears to alienate a person who may some
[542] day be the object of a profitable loan. Incidentally, this permits women, who are not principals in the financial game, to be much more outspoken than men. In addition to a system of profit which rests on good will, custom requires that one should never pay debts until they have been repeatedly and persistently demanded by the creditor. This places the Alorese financier in the irritating position of having to dun constantly for payments, tactfully yet forcefully enough to get paid with the promised profit. If he fails to be persistent enough, he will not be paid. If he fails to be tactful enough, there will be a quarrel, the upshot of which will be at best a return of the property borrowed, without the addition of interest. In other words, in Alor as elsewhere the profit system can break down but it breaks down into simple reciprocity.

●536 On the other hand, wealth can also be used as an expression of rivalry. An insult may precipitate two rival financiers into an orgy of pig slaughtering until they and even their remotest kin have emptied their pens. Finally a halt is called and the pigs are reckoned. The man who has slaughtered most is entitled to a formalized gloat which begins: "Squelch! The rooster's tail droops!" He then adds such insults and elaborations as the occasion and opponent furnish. However, the Alorese are a realistic and hard-headed lot and rarely allow themselves the luxury of such wasteful displays.

[p. 485 A]